

long as the officers of the municipality would permit. When they announced the close of the visit, the child, unwilling to beg them to allow a longer time, held back M. Desault by the skirt of his coat.¹ Suddenly M. Desault's visits ceased. Several days passed and nothing was heard of him. The keepers wondered at his absence, and the poor little invalid was much distressed at it. The commissary on duty (M. Benoist) suggested that it would be proper to send to the physician's house to make inquiries as to the cause of so long an absence. Gomin and Lasne had not yet ventured to follow this advice, when next day M. Benoist was relieved by M. Bidault, who hearing M. Desault's name mentioned as he came in, immediately said, "You must not expect to see him any more ; he died yesterday."

M. Pelletan, head surgeon of the Grand Hospice de l'Humanité, was next directed to attend the prisoner, and in June he found him in so alarming a state that he at once asked for a coadjutor, fearing to undertake the responsibility alone. The physician—sent for form's sake to attend the dying child, as an advocate is given by law to a criminal condemned beforehand—blamed the officers of the municipality for not having removed the blind which obstructed the light, and the numerous bolts, the noise of which never failed to remind the victim of his captivity. That sound, which always caused him an involuntary shudder, disturbed him in the last mournful scene of his unparalleled tortures. M. Pelletan said authoritatively to the municipal on duty, "If you will not take these bolts and casings away at once, at least you can make no objection to our carrying the child into another room, for I suppose we are sent here to take charge of him." The Prince being disturbed by these words, spoken as they were with great animation, made a sign to the physician to come nearer. "Speak lower, I beg of you," said he ; "I am afraid they will hear you upstairs, and I should be very sorry for them to know that I am ill, as it would give them much uneasiness."

¹ Others would gladly have shared this work of mercy. As rumours of the Prince's critical state spread within and without the prison, Madame Royale renewed her entreaties to be allowed to nurse her brother, or at least to see him once more, and M. de Huë offered to share his imprisonment ; but both were refused.

At first the change to a cheerful and airy room revived the Prince and gave him evident pleasure, but the improvement did not last. Next day M. Pelletan learned that the Government had acceded to his request for a colleague. M. Dumangin, head physician of the Hospice de l'Unité, made his appearance at his house on the morning of Sunday, 7th June, with the official despatch sent him by the committee of public safety. They repaired together immediately to the Tower. On their arrival they heard that the child, whose weakness was excessive, had had a fainting fit, which had occasioned fears to be entertained that his end was approaching. He had revived a little, however, when the physicians went up at about nine o'clock. Unable to contend with increasing exhaustion, they perceived there was no longer any hope of prolonging an existence worn out by so much suffering, and that all their art could effect would be to soften the last stage of this lamentable disease. While standing by the Prince's bed, Gomin noticed that he was quietly crying, and asked him kindly what was the matter. "I am always alone," he said. "My dear mother remains in the other tower." Night came—his last night—which the regulations of the prison condemned him to pass once more in solitude, with suffering, his old companion, only at his side. This time, however, death too stood at his pillow. When Gomin went up to the child's room on the morning of 8th June, he said, seeing him calm, motionless, and mute, "I hope you are not in pain just now?"—"Oh yes, I am still in pain, but not nearly so much—the music is so beautiful!" Now there was no music to be heard, either in the Tower or anywhere near. Gomin, astonished, said to him, "From what direction do you hear this music?"—"From above!"—"Have you heard it long?"—"Since you knelt down. Do you not hear it? Listen! Listen!" And the child, with a nervous motion, raised his faltering hand, as he opened his large eyes, illuminated by delight. His poor keeper, unwilling to destroy this last sweet illusion, appeared to listen also. After a few minutes of attention the child again started, and cried out in intense rapture, "Amongst all the voices I have distinguished that of my mother!"

These were almost his last words. At a quarter past two¹

¹ Madame Royale says at three o'clock on 9th June. The confusion as to the day and hour probably arose from the death being at first kept secret.

he died, Lasne only being in the room at the time.¹ Lasne acquainted Gomin and Damont, the commissary on duty, with the event, and they repaired to the chamber of death. The poor little royal corpse was carried from the room into that where he had suffered so long—where for two years he had never ceased to suffer. From this apartment the father had gone to the scaffold, and thence the son must pass to the burial-ground. The remains were laid out on the bed, and the doors of the apartment were set open—doors which had remained closed ever since the Revolution had seized on a child, then full of vigour, and grace, and life, and health! Gomin then repaired to the committee of general safety; there he saw M. Gauthier, one of the members, who said to him, "You did very right to take charge of this message yourself, and promptly; but, notwithstanding your diligence, it has arrived too late, and the sitting is over. The report cannot be made to-day to the National Convention. Keep the news secret till to-morrow, and till I have taken all proper measures. I will send M. Bourguignon, one of the secretaries of the committee of general safety, to the Temple, in order to convince himself of the truth of your declaration." Accordingly, M. Bourguignon followed Gomin to the Tower. He verified the event, and renewed the exhortation of keeping it secret, and of carrying on the service as usual. At eight o'clock next morning (9th June) four members of the committee of general safety came to the Tower to make sure that the Prince was really dead. When they were admitted to the death-chamber by Lasne and Damont they affected the greatest indifference. "The event is not of the least importance," they repeated, several times over; "the police commissary of the section will come and receive the declaration of the decease; he will acknowledge it, and proceed to the interment without any ceremony; and the committee will give the necessary directions." As they withdrew some officers of the Temple guard asked to

¹ Lamartine says: "He died at length without pain, but without uttering a word, on 9th June 1795. The doctors who attended him in his last moments had never seen him till the final hour." This is entirely contrary to the statement of Gomin, quoted in the "Illustrations" to Thiers' *History of the French Revolution*. Lamartine also speaks of several visits paid by Madame Royale to her brother, of which there is no mention in her own narrative.—See *History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France*: Bell and Daldy, 1865, vol. i. pp. 306-310.

see the remains of little Capet. Damont having observed that the guard would not permit the bier to pass without its being opened, the deputies decided that the officers and non-commissioned officers of the guard going off duty, together with those coming on, should be all invited to assure themselves of the child's death. All having assembled in the room where the body lay, he asked them if they recognised it as that of the ex-Dauphin, son of the last King of France. Those who had seen the young prince at the Tuileries, or at the Temple (and most of them had), bore witness to its being the body of Louis XVII. When they were come down into the council-room, Darlot drew up the minutes of this attestation, which was signed by a score of persons. These minutes were inserted in the journal of the Temple tower, which was afterwards deposited in the office of the Minister of the Interior. During this visit the surgeons entrusted with the autopsy arrived at the outer gate of the Temple. These were Dumangin, head physician of the Hospice de l'Unité; Pelletan, head surgeon of the Grand Hospice de l'Humanité; Jeanroy, professor in the medical schools of Paris; and Lassus, professor of legal medicine at the École de Santé of Paris. The two last were selected by Dumangin and Pelletan because of the former connection of M. Lassus with Mesdames de France, and of M. Jeanroy with the House of Lorraine, which gave a peculiar weight to their signature. Gomin received them in the council-room, and detained them until the national guard, descending from the second floor, entered to sign the minutes prepared by Darlot. This done, Lasne, Darlot, and Bouquet went up again with the surgeons, and introduced them into the apartment of Louis XVII., whom they at first examined as he lay on his deathbed; but M. Jeanroy, observing that the dim light of this room was but little favourable to the accomplishment of their mission, the commissaries prepared a table in the first room near the window, on which the corpse was laid, and the surgeons began their melancholy operation.

While these things were passing at the Temple, Achille-Sévestre, the deputy from Ile-et-Vilaine, who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., and who had said, in speaking of the Dauphin (13th April 1794), "*This child will never attain his majority!*" made the following report to the National Convention,

in the name of the committee of general safety :—"Citizens, for some time past the son of Capet had been troubled with swellings on the right knee and left wrist; on the 15th Floréal his pain increased, the invalid lost his appetite, and was attacked by fever. The celebrated Desault, medical officer, was appointed to see and attend him, as we were convinced by his talents and probity that he would not fail to exercise that care which is due to humanity. Still the disease assumed a very serious character. On the 16th of this month Desault died, and the committee appointed in his stead citizen Pelletan, a well-known medical man, and citizen Dumangin as his coadjutor. Their bulletin of yesterday, at eleven o'clock A.M., announced symptoms which gave cause of alarm for the life of the invalid, and at a quarter past two P.M. we received the intelligence of the death of the son of Capet. The committee of general safety has desired me to inform you of the event. All is verified, and here are the reports, which will remain in your archives."

The National Convention heard this announcement with apparent indifference. It was part of their policy not to take much notice of the Prince's last hour, though it was the welcome result of a plan they had long pursued. The news of the death announced to the Convention had already spread in Paris. The event was discussed by some fanatics with joy, but by the mass of the people with pity and commiseration, as they recollected the beauty, the graceful ways, and the generous heart of the young Prince.

At seven o'clock the police commissary ordered the body to be taken up, and that they should proceed to the cemetery. It was the season of the longest days, and therefore the interment did not take place in secrecy and at night as some misinformed narrators have said or written; it took place in broad daylight, and attracted a great concourse of people before the gates of the Temple palace. One of the municipals wished to have the coffin carried out secretly by the door opening into the chapel enclosure; but M. Dusser, police commissary, who was specially entrusted with the arrangement of the ceremony, opposed this indecorous measure, and the procession passed out through the great gate. The crowd that was pressing round was kept back, and compelled to keep a line by a tri-coloured ribbon, held at short distances by

gendarmes. Compassion and sorrow were impressed on every countenance. A small detachment of the troops of the line from the garrison of Paris, sent by the authorities, was waiting to serve as an escort. The bier, still covered with the pall, was carried on a litter on the shoulders of four men, who relieved each other two at a time; it was preceded by six or eight men, headed by a sergeant. Dusser walked behind, with Lasne and the civic commissary before mentioned; Damont, who was on duty the day of the death; Darlot, Guérin, and Bigot. With them were also Goddet, Biard, and Arnoult, whom the Temple section had appointed to assist Dusser in making the official report of the decease, and superintending the interment. Then came six or eight more men and a corporal. They entered the cemetery of Sainte Marguerite by the Rue Saint Bernard. The procession was accompanied a long way by the crowd, and a great number of persons followed it even to the cemetery. In particular, there was a marked movement of interest in a numerous group that had formed at the corner of the Boulevard and the Rue Pont-aux-Choux, and which was mainly composed of women. The name of "Little Capet," and the more popular title of Dauphin spread from lip to lip, with exclamations of pity and compassion. Further on, in the Rue Popincourt, a few children of the common people in rags took off their caps in token of respect and sympathy before this coffin that contained a child who had died poorer than they themselves were to live. The procession entered the cemetery of Sainte Marguerite, not by the church, as some accounts assert, but by the old gate of the cemetery. The interment was made in the corner, on the left, at a distance of eight or nine feet from the enclosure wall, and at an equal distance from a small house, which subsequently served as a class-room for a Christian school. The grave was filled up—no mound marked its place—and not even a trace remained of the interment! Not till then did the commissaries of police and the municipality withdraw. They departed by the same gate of the cemetery, and entered the house opposite the church to draw up the declaration of interment. It was nearly nine o'clock, and still daylight.—See "Illustrations" to Thiers' *History of the French Revolution*.

THE EMIGRANT ROYALISTS—PROCLAMATION OF THE REGENT—
LETTER OF LOUIS XVIII. TO THE FRENCH NATION—RE-
LEASE OF MADAME ROYALE—HER MARRIAGE TO THE DUC
D'ANGOULÊME—RETURN TO FRANCE—DEATH.

The last person to hear of the sad events in the Temple was the one for whom they had the deepest and most painful interest. After her brother's death the captivity of Madame Royale was much lightened. She was allowed to walk in the Temple gardens, and to receive visits from some ladies of the old Court, and from Madame de Chantereine, who at last, after several times evading her questions, ventured cautiously to tell her of the deaths of her mother, aunt, and brother. Madame Royale wept bitterly, but had much difficulty in expressing her feelings. "She spoke so confusedly," says Madame de la Ramière in a letter to Madame de Vernéuil, "that it was difficult to understand her. It took her more than a month's reading aloud, with careful study of pronunciation, to make herself intelligible—so much had she lost the power of expression." She was dressed with plainness amounting to poverty, and her hands were disfigured by exposure to cold and by the menial work she had been so long accustomed to do for herself, and which it was difficult to persuade her to leave off. When urged to accept the services of an attendant, she replied, with a sad prevision of the vicissitudes of her future life, that she did not like to form a habit which she might have again to abandon. She suffered herself, however, to be persuaded gradually to modify her recluse and ascetic habits. It was well she did so, as a preparation for the great changes about to follow.

At the time of the deposition of Louis XVI., his brothers were nominally the heads of a court composed of fugitives and an army of emigrants. But during the counter-revolutionary campaign they seldom showed themselves in the field, the Princes of the House of Condé really taking the lead in all military matters. When news of the King's execution reached the emigrant royalists the Comte de Provence issued the following proclamation:—

DECLARATION OF THE REGENT OF FRANCE.

LOUIS STANISLAUS FAVIER¹ de France, son of France, uncle to the present King, and Regent of the Kingdom,—To all those who may peruse these presents, greeting :

WHEREAS the most criminal of men have, by the perpetration of the most atrocious of crimes, completed the burthen of their iniquities ; we, struck with horror on receiving the information, have invoked the Almighty to enable us, by His gracious assistance, to suppress the emotions of our just indignation, caused by the sentiments of profound grief which had overwhelmed us ; to the end that we might the better fulfil those essential duties that are, in circumstances so weighty, the first in order among those obligations which the unchangeable laws of the French monarchy impose upon us.

The sanguinary usurpers of the sovereign authority in France having, on the 21st day of the present month of January, laid violent hands on, and barbarously murdered our dearly-beloved and highly-honoured brother and sovereign the KING, **LOUIS XVI.** by name,—We declare that the Dauphin, **LOUIS CHARLES**, born the 27th day of March, the year of our Lord 1785, is KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, under the name of **Louis XVII.** We furthermore declare, in virtue of our birthright, and the fundamental laws of the Kingdom of France, that we are, and will act as REGENT OF FRANCE during the minority of the King, our nephew and Sovereign Lord.

Thus invested with the exercise of the rights and powers of the sovereignty in France, and of the supreme administration of royal justice, we, in consequence of our obligations and duties so to do, take upon ourselves the said office of Regent.

We are therefore determined, with the assistance of Divine Providence and that of our good and loyal subjects of all ranks and orders, aided by the powerful succours of the allied sovereigns for the same purpose, to do our utmost endeavours to recover the liberty of our royal nephew, King Louis XVII.; of Her Majesty,

¹ Afterwards Louis XVIII.

his august mother and guardian ; of Madame Royale, Maria Theresa, his sister and our niece ; and of her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth, his aunt and our dearest sister ; all held in the severest captivity by the chiefs of a faction.

We are likewise determined and resolved to effect the re-establishment of the French monarchy on the unalterable basis of the French Constitution, with a reform of those abuses that may have been introduced in the public administration. We will likewise exert ourselves in the restoration of the religion of our forefathers to its original purity, according to the canonical discipline of the Church. We will, moreover, re-establish the magistrature, so essential to the revival of good order and the due and regular administration of justice. We also promise to reinstate all and every description of persons in the full enjoyment of their property, now usurped ; and in the free exercise of their lawful rights, of which they may have been illegally deprived. In order to enforce the law we shall punish crimes with severity, and in an exemplary manner.

In fine, for the fulfilling of this solemn engagement, we have thought proper to assume the reins of government, in conjunction with our dearest brother Charles Philippe de France, Comte d'Artois,¹ with whom are united our dear nephews, grandsons of France, their Royal Highnesses Louis Antoine, Duc d'Angoulême, and Charles Ferdinand, Duc de Berri ; and our cousins, their Royal Highnesses Louis Henri de Bourbon, Prince de Condé ; Louis Henri Joseph de Bourbon, Duc de Bourbon ; and Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien ; Princes of the blood royal—conformably to the declaration we conjointly addressed to the late King, the 10th of September 1791, and every other act signed by us, to be considered as the declarations of our uniform principles and sentiments ; and we invariably maintain these our said acts for the purposes and ends aforesaid.

We therefore order and direct all the natives of France, singly and collectively, to obey the commands they may and will receive from us on the part of the King. We furthermore enjoin all the loving subjects of this our kingdom to show obedience to the orders that may and will be issued by our dearest brother, Charles

¹ Afterwards Charles X.

Philippe de France, Comte d'Artois, named and constituted by us Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom in the name and on the part of the King and Regent of France.

In fine, we direct and enjoin all the King's officers, whether military or magisterial, to publish and notify this our present declaration to all those to whom it may pertain, authorising and empowering them to make it known in France ; and when circumstances permit the several courts of justice to reassume their function in their respective jurisdictions, the said declaration, as soon as conveniently may be, is to be immediately legalised, published, and executed.

Given at Ham, in Westphalia, under our Seal ; which is what we make use of in the signing of sovereign acts, till the Seals of the Kingdom, destroyed by the ruling faction, are re-made ; to be likewise countersigned by the Maréchals de Broglie and de Castries, our Ministers of State, the 28th day of January, in the year of grace 1793, and the 1st of the reign of Louis XVII.

(Signed) LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER.

And at the same time he professed to share his authority with his more popular brother by appointing him Lieutenant-General :

LETTER PATENT issued by the Regent of France for the naming of a Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.

LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER, son of France, uncle to the King, and Regent of the Kingdom, to our dear brother Charles Philippe de France, son of France, Comte d'Artois, greeting :

The God of our fathers, the God of St. Louis, who has so long protected the French monarchy, will certainly not permit its final destruction by the hands of a set of factious men, as execrable by their impious audacity as by the enormity of the crimes they have committed. Heaven has assuredly, and it is our greatest hope, destined us to be the ministers of His justice, to revenge the blood of the King our brother, which these monsters have dared to spill with the most appalling ferocity. It is therefore to place our nephew and sovereign on the throne of his father, to reinstate and maintain him in the possession of all the rights and prerogatives

of his crown, that we call upon you, Charles Philippe de France, Comte d'Artois, to aid and assist us.

This first act of the Regency we assume displays, according to the wish of our heart, the full confidence we have in you.

On these causes, and for these honourable ends and purposes, we have appointed and constituted you by these presents Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom of France, investing you with all those powers that the Regent of France can delegate, and particularly of commanding in our absence and in our presence under our authority the armies of the King.

Be it understood that all the officers of his Majesty in the military or magisterial capacity, as well as all Frenchmen the subjects of the King, are to obey your commands given by you in the name of the King or Regent of France. It is our pleasure that you assist at all the Councils of State, Justice, and Administration, and others that it may be judged necessary to establish; the same to be presided over by you in our absence; all of which powers shall continue in force as long as our Regency lasts, unless restrained or annulled by our authority.

In virtue of these presents, all letters patent issued in the ordinary form, and addressed to the courts of justice of the kingdom, when re-established in their respective jurisdictions, are to be therein legalised, registered, published, and executed.

Given at Ham, in Westphalia, under our hand and common Seal, and countersigned by the Maréchals de Broglie and de Castries, our Ministers of State, the 28th day of the month of January, anno 1793, and the first year of the reign of his present Majesty.

(Signed) LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER.

(Undersigned, by order of
the Regent of France)—

MARÉCHAL DE BROGLIE.

MARÉCHAL DE CASTRIES.

This "ideal authority" was recognised by the army of Condé, and liberally supported by the Empress of Russia; it had representatives and sympathisers at all the European Courts; but it was long before it exercised any practical influence. The Regent,

Lamartine says, "reigned by correspondence." He was ready with a manifesto on all occasions. When the death of the Dauphin, or Louis XVII., as the emigrants called him, was announced, his uncle addressed the French nation in the following terms :—

"In depriving you of a King who has only reigned in fetters, but whose infancy promised a worthy successor to the best of Kings, the inscrutable decrees of Providence have transmitted to us with the Crown the necessity of snatching it from the hands of revolt, and the duty of saving the country, which a disastrous revolution has placed on the verge of ruin. A terrible experience has but too well enlightened you on your misfortunes and on their causes. Impious and factious men, after having seduced you by lying declarations and by deceitful promises, have drawn you into irreligion and revolt. From that moment a deluge of calamities has poured upon you from all parts. . . . Your property became the prey of robbers the moment the Throne became the prey of usurpers. Servitude and tyranny invaded you when the royal authority ceased to cover you with its ægis. Property, safety, and liberty all disappeared with monarchical government. You must return to that holy religion which had conferred upon France the blessings of Heaven; you must re-establish that government which during fourteen centuries was the glory of France and the delight of the French nation,—which had made of your country the most flourishing of kingdoms and of yourselves the happiest of people. The implacable tyrants who keep you enslaved alone retard this happy moment. After having taken from you everything, they paint us in your eyes as an implacable avenger! But learn to know the heart of your King, and entrust to us the duty of saving you! We not only see no crimes in simple errors, but even the crimes that errors may have caused shall find mercy at our hands. All French people who, abjuring fatal opinions, shall come and throw themselves at the foot of the Throne, shall be received by it. Those still under the influence of a cruel obstinacy, who shall hasten to return to reason and duty, shall be our children. We are French! This title the crimes of villany shall not be sufficient to debase. There are crimes, however, the atrocity of which has passed the bounds of clemency—those of the regicides. Posterity will not name these monsters without horror. France

universal France, invokes upon their heads the sword of justice. The feeling which now makes us restrain the vengeance of the laws within such narrow bounds is a certain pledge to you that we shall suffer no private revenge. Who will dare to avenge himself when the King pardons?"

"Universal France" was in no immediate hurry to accept this olive branch held out by its titular monarch, but it did begin to show some commiseration for his orphan niece. Nine days after the death of her brother the city of Orleans interceded for the daughter of Louis XVI., and sent deputies to the Convention to pray for her deliverance and restoration to her family. Nantes followed this example; and Charette, on the part of the Vendéans, demanded as a condition of the pacification of La Vendée, that the Princess should be allowed to join her relations. At length the Convention decreed that Madame Royale should be exchanged with Austria for the representatives and ministers whom Dumouriez had given up to the Prince of Cobourg—Drouet, Semonville, Maret, and other prisoners of importance. At midnight on 19th December 1795, which was her birthday, the Princess was released from prison, the Minister of the Interior, M. Benezech, to avoid attracting public attention and possible disturbance, conducting her on foot from the Temple to a neighbouring street, where his carriage awaited her.¹ She made it her particular request that Gomin, who had been so devoted to her brother, should be the commissary appointed to accompany her to the frontier; Madame de Soucy, formerly under-governess to the children of France, was also in attendance; and the Princess took with her a dog named Coco, which had belonged to Louis XVI.² She was

¹ A short time after Madame Royale left the Temple, Rœderer, who had voted for the death of the King, entered her room, and looked curiously round. Some lines pencilled on the wall caught his eye: the first inscription he read was, "Oh my father, watch over me from your place in heaven!" the second, "Oh God, pardon those through whom my parents died!" He gazed for a moment stupefied, and then rushed out of the apartment, impelled, he confesses in his *Memoirs*, by the fiercest remorse,—*Filia Dolorosa: Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Angoulême*: Bentley, 1852, vol. i. p. 355.

² The mention of the little dog taken from the Temple by Madame Royale reminds me how fond all the family were of these creatures. Each Princess kept a different kind. Mesdames had beautiful spaniels, little grayhounds were preferred by Madame Elizabeth. Louis XVI. was the only one of all his family who had no dogs in his room. I remember one day waiting

frequently recognised on her way through France, and always with marks of pleasure and respect.

It might have been supposed that the Princess would rejoice to leave behind her the country which had been the scene of so many horrors and such bitter suffering. But it was her birthplace, and it held the graves of all she loved; and as she crossed the frontier she said to those around her, "I leave France with regret, for I shall never cease to consider it my country." She arrived in Vienna on 9th January 1796, and her first care was to attend a memorial service for her murdered relatives. After many weeks of close retirement she occasionally began to appear in public, and people looked with interest at the pale grave slender girl of seventeen, dressed in the deepest mourning, over whose young head such terrible storms had swept.¹ The Emperor wished her to marry the Archduke Charles of Austria, but her father and mother had, even in the cradle, destined her hand for her cousin, the Duc d'Angoulême, son of the Comte d'Artois, and the memory of their lightest wish was law to her.

Her quiet determination entailed anger and opposition amounting to persecution.² Every effort was made to alienate her from her French relations. She was urged to claim Provence, which had become her own if Louis XVIII. was to be considered King of France. A pressure of opinion was brought to bear

in the great gallery for the King's retiring, when he entered with all his family and the whole pack, who were escorting him. All at once all the dogs began to bark, one louder than another, and ran away, passing like ghosts along those great dark rooms, which rang with their hoarse cries. The Princesses shouting, calling them, running everywhere after them, completed a ridiculous spectacle, which made those august persons very merry.—*D'Hézeques*, p. 49.

¹ Madame Royale inherited all the pride of blood peculiar to the Houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg. Naturally reflecting and reserved, she evinced a gravity even in her earliest years which is rarely the characteristic of childhood. It was remarked of her that "elle n'avait jamais été enfant, toujours grande dame." Without being precisely of a melancholy disposition, all her tendencies were serious and meditative. . . . In all respects she resembled Louis XVI. more than Marie Antoinette. She took no pleasure in noisy games, but early showed a taste for reading, and that inherent piety and reverence for religion which so strongly characterised Madame Elizabeth.—*Filia Dolorosa: Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Angoulême*, vol. i. p. 14.

² According to the *Memoirs of Louis XVIII.*, "l'Impératrice regnante ne craignant pas de la maltraiter par des voies de fait."

upon her which might well have overawed so young a girl. "I was sent for to the Emperor's cabinet," she writes, "where I found the Imperial family assembled. The ministers and chief imperial counsellors were also present. . . . When the Emperor invited me to express my opinion, I answered that to be able to treat fittingly of such interests I thought I ought to be surrounded not only by my mother's relatives, but also by those of my father. . . . Besides, I said, I am above all things French, and in entire subjection to the laws of France, which had rendered me alternately the subject of the King my father, the King my brother, and the King my uncle, and that I would yield obedience to the latter, whatever might be his commands. This declaration appeared very much to dissatisfy all who were present, and when they observed that I was not to be shaken, they declared that my right being independent of my will, my resistance would not be the slightest obstacle to the measures they might deem it necessary to adopt for the preservation of my interests." In their anxiety to make a German Princess of Marie Thérèse her Imperial relations suppressed her French title as much as possible. When, with some difficulty, the Duc de Grammont succeeded in obtaining an audience of her, and used the familiar form of address, she smiled faintly, and bade him beware. "Call me Madame de Bretagne, or de Bourgogne, or de Lorraine," she said, "for here I am so identified with these provinces¹ that I shall end in believing in my own transformation." After these discussions she was so closely watched, and so many restraints were imposed upon her, that she was scarcely less a prisoner than in the old days of the Temple, though her cage was this time gilded. Rescue, however, was at hand. In 1798 Louis XVIII. accepted a refuge offered to him at Mittau by the Czar Paul, who had promised that he would grant his guest's first request, whatever it might be. Louis begged the Czar to use his influence with the Court of Vienna to allow his niece to join him. "Sir, my brother," was Paul's answer, "Madame Royale shall be restored to you, or I shall cease to be Paul I."² Next morning the Czar despatched a courier to Vienna with a demand for the

¹ Which the Emperor wished her to claim from her uncle Louis XVIII.

² *Filia Dolorosa*, vol. ii. p. 12.

Princess, so energetically worded that refusal must have been followed by war. Accordingly, in May 1799, Madame Royale was allowed to leave the capital which she had found so uncongenial an asylum.

In the old ducal castle of Mittau, the capital of Courland, Louis XVIII. and his wife, with their nephews the Ducs d'Angoulême¹ and de Berri, were awaiting her, attended by the Abbé Edgeworth, as chief ecclesiastic, and a little Court of refugee nobles and officers. With them were two men of humbler position, who must have been even more welcome to Madame Royale—De Malden, who had acted as courier to Louis XVI. during the flight to Varennes, and Turgi, who had waited on the Princesses in the Temple. It was a sad meeting, though so long anxiously desired, and it was followed on 10th June 1799 by an equally sad wedding—exiles, pensioners on the bounty of the Russian monarch, fulfilling an engagement founded not on personal preference but on family policy and reverence for the wishes of the dead, the bride and bridegroom had small cause for rejoicing. During the eighteen months of tranquil seclusion which followed her marriage the favourite occupation of the Duchess was visiting and relieving the poor. In January 1801 the Czar Paul, in compliance with the demand of Napoleon, who was just then the object of his capricious enthusiasm, ordered the French royal family to leave Mittau. Their wanderings commenced on the 21st, a day of bitter memories; and the young Duchess led the King to his carriage through a crowd of men, women, and children, whose tears and blessings attended them on their way.² The exiles asked permission from the King of Prussia to settle in his dominions, and while awaiting his answer at Munich they were painfully surprised by the entrance of five old soldiers of noble birth, part of the bodyguard they had left

¹ The Duc d'Angoulême was quiet and reserved. He loved hunting as a means of killing time; was given to early hours and innocent pleasures. He was a gentleman, and brave as became one. He had not the "gentlemanly vices" of his brother, and was all the better for it. He was ill-educated, but had natural good sense, and would have passed for having more than that had he cared to put forth pretensions. Of all his family he was the one most ill-spoken of, and least deserving of it.—*Dr. Doran*.

² The Queen was too ill to travel. The Duc d'Angoulême took another route to join a body of French gentlemen in arms for the Legitimist cause.

behind at Mittau, relying on the protection of Paul. The "mad Czar" had decreed their immediate expulsion, and, penniless and almost starving, they made their way to Louis XVIII. All the money the royal family possessed was bestowed on these faithful servants, who came to them in detachments for relief, and then the Duchess offered her diamonds to the Danish Consul for an advance of two thousand ducats, saying she pledged her property "that in our common distress it may be rendered of real use to my uncle, his faithful servants, and myself." The Duchess' consistent and unselfish kindness procured her from the King, and those about him who knew her best, the name of "our angel."

Warsaw was for a brief time the resting-place of the wanderers, but there they were disturbed in 1803 by Napoleon's attempt to threaten and bribe Louis XVIII. into abdication. It was suggested that refusal might bring upon them expulsion from Prussia. "We are accustomed to suffering," was the King's answer, "and we do not dread poverty. I would, trusting in God, seek another asylum." In 1808, after many changes of scene, this asylum was sought in England, Gosfield Hall, Essex, being placed at their disposal by the Marquis of Buckingham. From Gosfield, the King moved to Hartwell Hall, a fine old Elizabethan mansion rented from Sir George Lee for £500 a year.¹ A yearly grant of £24,000 was made to the exiled family by the British Government, out of which a hundred and forty persons were supported, the royal dinner-party generally numbering two dozen. At Hartwell, as in her other homes, the Duchess was most popular amongst the poor. In general society she was cold and reserved, and she disliked the notice of strangers. In March 1814 the Royalist successes at Bordeaux paved the way for the restoration of royalty in France, and amidst general sympathy and congratulation, with the Prince Regent himself to wish them good fortune, the King, the Duchess, and their suite left Hartwell in April 1814. The return to France was as triumphant as a somewhat half-hearted and doubtful enthusiasm could make it, and most of such cordiality as there was fell to the share of the Duchess. As she passed

¹ It pleased the King to notice a *fleur de lis* in the old carving on each side of the porch.

to Notre Dame in May 1814, on entering Paris, she was vociferously greeted.¹ The feeling of loyalty, however, was not much longer lived than the applause by which it was expressed; the Duchess had scarcely effected one of the strongest wishes of her heart—the identification of what remained of her parents' bodies, and the magnificent ceremony with which they were removed from the cemetery of the Madeleine to the Abbey of Saint Denis—when the escape of Napoleon from Elba in February 1815 scattered the royal family and their followers like chaff before the wind. The Duc d'Angoulême, compelled to capitulate at Toulouse, sailed from Cette in a Swedish vessel. The Comte d'Artois, the Duc de Berri, and the Prince de Condé withdrew beyond the frontier. The King fled from the capital. The Duchesse d'Angoulême, then at Bordeaux celebrating the anniversary of the proclamation of Louis XVIII., alone of all her family made any stand against the general panic. Day after day she mounted her horse and reviewed the national guard. She made personal and even passionate appeals to the officers and men, standing firm, and prevailing on a handful of soldiers to remain by her, even when the imperialist troops were on the other side of the river and their cannon were directed against the square where the Duchess was reviewing her scanty followers.² With pain and difficulty she was convinced that resistance was vain; Napoleon's banner soon floated over Bordeaux; the Duchess issued a farewell proclamation to her "brave Bordelais," and on 1st April 1815 she started for Pouillac, whence she embarked for Spain. During a brief visit to England she heard that the reign of a hundred days was over, and the 27th of July 1815 saw her second triumphal return to the Tuileries. She did not take up her abode there with any wish for State ceremonies or Court gaieties. Her life was as secluded

¹ She needed all the strength that He who is the source of it could give; for on leaving the Cathedral she had to repair to the Tuileries, which she had not seen since the fatal 10th of August, when she left it with those who were never to cross its threshold again, and traverse the garden which was to them as the valley of the shadow of death. . . . Here memory was too much for her, and she fell to the ground in a swoon.—*Dr. Doran*.

² "It was the Duchesse d'Angoulême who saved you," said General Clauzel, after these events, to a Royalist volunteer: "I could not bring myself to order such a woman to be fired upon, at the moment when she was providing material for the noblest page in her history."—*Filia Dolorosa*, vol. ii. p. 131.

as her position would allow. Her favourite retreat was the Pavilion, which had been inhabited by her mother, and in her little oratory she collected relics of her family, over which on the anniversaries of their deaths she wept and prayed. In her daily drives through Paris she scrupulously avoided the spot on which they had suffered; and the memory of the past seemed to rule all her sad and self-denying life, both in what she did and what she refrained from doing.¹ Her somewhat austere goodness was not of a nature to make her popular. The few who really understood her loved her, but the majority of her pleasure-seeking subjects regarded her either with ridicule or dread. She is said to have taken no part in politics, and to have exerted no influence in public affairs, but her sympathies were well known, and "the very word liberty made her shudder;" like Madame Roland, she had seen "so many crimes perpetrated under that name."

The claims of three pretended Dauphins—Hervagault, the son of the tailor of Saint Lo; Bruneau, son of the shoemaker of Vergin; and Naundorf or Norndorff, the watchmaker—somewhat troubled her peace, but never for a moment obtained her sanction. Of the many other pseudo-Dauphins (said to number a dozen and a half) not even the names remain.² In February 1820 a fresh tragedy befell the royal family in the assassination of the Duc de Berri, brother-in-law of the Duchesse d'Angoulême, as he was seeing his wife into her carriage at the door of the opera-house. He was carried into the theatre, and there the dying Prince and his wife were joined by the Duchess, who remained till he breathed his last, and was present when he too was laid in the abbey of Saint Denis. She was present also when his son the Duc de Bordeaux was born, and hoped that she saw in him a guarantee for the stability of royalty in France. In September 1824 she stood by the deathbed of Louis XVIII., and

¹ She was so methodical and economical, though liberal, in her charities, that one of her regular evening occupations was to tear off the seals from the letters she had received during the day, in order that the wax might be melted down and sold; the produce made one poor family "passing rich with forty pounds a year."—See *Filia Dolorosa*, vol. ii. p. 239.

² Except that of the latest and perhaps best known—Augustus Mèves. See *Memoirs of Louis Charles, Dauphin of France*: Ridgway, 1868; and *The Dauphin, Louis XVII.*: Bentley, 1876.

thenceforward her chief occupation was directing the education of the little Duc de Bordeaux, who generally resided with her at Villeneuve l'Etang, her country house near Saint Cloud. Thence she went in July 1830 to the baths of Vichy, stopping at Dijon on her way to Paris, and visiting the theatre on the evening of the 27th. She was received with "a roar of execrations and seditious cries," and knew only too well what they signified. She instantly left the theatre and proceeded to Tonnerre, where she received news of the rising in Paris, and quitting the town by night was driven to Joigny with three attendants. Soon after leaving that place it was thought more prudent that the party should separate and proceed on foot, and the Duchess and M. de Foucigny, disguised as peasants, entered Versailles arm-in-arm, to obtain tidings of the King. The Duchess found him at Rambouillet with her husband the Dauphin, and the King met her with a request for "pardon," being fully conscious, too late, that his unwise decrees and his headlong flight had destroyed the last hopes of his family. The Act of Abdication followed, by which the prospect of royalty passed from the Dauphin and his wife, as well as from Charles X.—Henri V. being proclaimed King, and the Duc d'Orléans (who refused to take the boy monarch under his personal protection) lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

Then began the Duchess' third expatriation. At Cherbourg the royal family, accompanied by the little King without a kingdom, embarked in the *Great Britain*, which stood out to sea. The Duchess, remaining on deck for a last look at the coast of France, noticed a brig which kept, she thought, suspiciously near them. "Who commands that vessel?" she inquired. "Captain Thibault."—"And what are his orders?"—"To fire into and sink the vessels in which we sail should any attempt be made to return to France." Such was the farewell of their subjects to the House of Bourbon. The fugitives landed at Weymouth; the Duchesse d'Angoulême under the title of Comtesse de Marne, the Duchesse de Berri as Comtesse de Rosny, and her son Henri de Bordeaux as Comte de Chambord, the title he retained till his death, originally taken from the estate presented to him in infancy by his enthusiastic people. Holyrood, with its royal and gloomy associations, was their appointed dwelling. The Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême, and the daughter of the Duc de Berri,

travelled thither by land, the King and the young Comte de Chambord by sea. "I prefer my route to that of my sister," observed the latter, "because I shall see the coast of France again, and she will not."

The French Government soon complained that at Holyrood the exiles were still too near their native land, and accordingly in 1832 Charles X., with his son and grandson, left Scotland for Hamburg, while the Duchesse d'Angoulême and her niece repaired to Vienna. The family were reunited at Prague in 1833, where the birthday of the Comte de Chambord was celebrated with some pomp and rejoicing, many Legitimists flocking thither to congratulate him on attaining the age of thirteen, which the old law of monarchical France had fixed as the majority of her princes. Three years later the wanderings of the unfortunate family recommenced; the Emperor Francis II. was dead, and his successor Ferdinand must visit Prague to be crowned, and Charles X. feared that the presence of a disrowned monarch might be embarrassing on such an occasion. Illness and sorrow attended the exiles on their new journey, and a few months after they were established in the Château of Graffenburg at Goritz, Charles X. died of cholera, in his eightieth year. At Goritz, also, on 31st May 1844, the Duchesse d'Angoulême, who had sat beside so many deathbeds, watched over that of her husband. Theirs had not been a marriage of affection in youth, but they respected each other's virtues, and to a great extent shared each other's tastes; banishment and suffering had united them very closely, and of late years they had been almost inseparable—walking, riding, and reading together.¹ When the Duchesse d'Angoulême had seen her husband laid by his father's side in the vault of the Franciscan convent, she, accompanied by her nephew and niece, removed to Fröhsdorf, where they spent seven tranquil years. Here she was addressed as "Queen" by her household for the first time in her life, but she herself always recognised Henri, Comte de Chambord, as her sovereign. The Duchess lived to see the overthrow of Louis Philippe, the usurper of the inheritance of her family. Her last attempt to exert herself was a characteristic one. She tried to rise from a sick-bed

¹ See *Filia Dolorosa*, vol. ii.

in order to attend the memorial service held for her mother, Marie Antoinette, on 16th October, the anniversary of her execution. But her strength was not equal to the task; on the 19th she expired, with her hand in that of the Comte de Chambord, and on 28th October 1851 Marie Thérèse Charlotte, Duchesse d'Angoulême, was buried in the Franciscan convent. "Her youth was passed in captivity and her age in exile," says her biographer, "but she accepted every visitation with dignity towards man, and with meekness towards God."

THE CEREMONY OF EXPIATION.

About this time [the spring of 1814] a ceremony took place in Paris, at which I was present, because there was nothing in it that could be mortifying to a French heart. The death of Louis XVI. had long been admitted to be one of the most serious misfortunes of the Revolution. The Emperor Napoleon never spoke of that sovereign but in terms of the highest respect, and always prefixed the epithet *unfortunate* to his name. The ceremony to which I allude was proposed by the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. It consisted of a kind of expiation and purification of the spot on which Louis XVI. and his Queen were beheaded. I went to see the ceremony, and I had a place at a window in the Hôtel of Madame de Rémusat, next to the Hôtel de Crillon, and what was termed the Hôtel de Courlande.

The Expiation took place on the 10th of April. The weather was extremely fine, and warm for the season. The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, accompanied by Prince Schwartzberg, took their station at the entrance of the Rue Royale; the King of Prussia being on the right of the Emperor Alexander, and Prince Schwartzberg on his left. There was a long parade, during which the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian military bands vied with each other in playing the air—"Vive Henri IV.!" The cavalry defiled past, and then withdrew into the Champs-Élysées; but the infantry ranged themselves round an altar which was raised in the middle of the Place, and which was elevated on a platform having twelve or fifteen steps. The Emperor of Russia alighted from his horse, and, followed by the King of Prussia, the Grand Duke Constantine, Lord Cathcart, and Prince

Schwartzenberg, advanced to the altar. When the Emperor had nearly reached the altar the *Te Deum* commenced. At the moment of the benediction, the sovereigns and persons who accompanied them, as well as the twenty-five thousand troops who covered the Place, all knelt down. The Greek priest presented the cross to the Emperor Alexander, who kissed it; his example was followed by the individuals who accompanied him, though they were not of the Greek faith.¹ On rising, the Grand Duke Constantine took off his hat, and immediately salvoes of artillery were heard. — *Memoirs of Madame Junot (Duchesse d'Abrantès)*, vol. iii. pp. 416-417 of English edition of 1883.

¹ The King of Prussia was a Protestant, Prince Schwartzenberg a Catholic, and the Emperor Alexander belonged to the Greek communion.

APPENDIX.

THE DIAMOND NECKLACE.

‘THE Comtesse de Lamotte was born in Champagne, under a thatched roof and in indigent circumstances, though she has since proved her descent, on the side of the Comtes de Saint Rémi, from the royal House of Valois. D’Hozier, the genealogist, confirmed it by his certificate. She became the wife of M. de Lamotte, a gentleman and a private *gendarme*. Their united resources were very limited, and she presented herself before the Grand Almoner¹ to interest his generosity, and at the same time to implore his good offices with the King. The Comtesse de Lamotte, without possessing beauty, was gifted with all the graces of youth, and her countenance was intelligent and attractive. She expressed herself with fluency, and gave an air of truth to her appeals. The misfortunes of a descendant of the House of Valois excited a deep interest in the compassionate breast of the Cardinal de Rohan, who would have rejoiced in placing her on a level with her ancestors ; but the finances of the King did not permit such bounty, and he could only supply the exigencies of the moment. The artful woman soon imagined that the heart of her benefactor was susceptible of yet stronger impressions ; gratitude and fresh wants renewed her visits and her interviews. His Eminence advised her to address herself immediately to the Queen, presuming that that generous Princess would be struck by the contrast between her position and her birth, and would doubtless

¹ Cardinal de Rohan.

find some means of extricating her from so painful a situation. The Cardinal, avowing that he was himself unable to procure her an interview with the Queen, described to Madame de Lamotte the deep mortification he experienced in having incurred the displeasure of her Majesty ; it created, he observed, a bitterness in his soul which poisoned his happiest moments. This confidence gave rise to a plan of imposture to which the annals of human credulity can furnish few parallels. The outline of the scheme was as follows :—Madame de Lamotte undertook to persuade the Cardinal that she had obtained a considerable degree of intimacy with the Queen ; that, influenced by the excellent qualities she had discovered in the Grand Almoner, she had spoken of them so often and with so much enthusiasm to her Majesty, that she had by degrees succeeded in removing her prejudices, and Marie Antoinette had permitted the Cardinal to justify himself to her ; and finally, had desired to have a correspondence with him, which should be kept secret till the auspicious moment should arrive for the open avowal of his complete restoration to her favour. The Comtesse de Lamotte was to be the vehicle of this correspondence, the result of which would be to place the Cardinal at the very summit of favour and influence.

“ Madame de Lamotte, after having increased the hopes of the Cardinal with all the power of intrigue of which she was mistress, at length said to him, ‘ I am authorised by the Queen to demand of you, in writing, a justification for the faults that you are accused of.’ This authorisation, invented by the Comtesse de Lamotte, and credited by the Cardinal, appeared to him the herald of an auspicious day ; in a little time his written apology was confided to Madame de Lamotte. Some days afterwards she brought him an answer, written on a small sheet of gilt-edged paper, in which Marie Antoinette, whose handwriting was successfully imitated, was made to say, ‘ I have read your letter. I am rejoiced to find you not guilty. At present I am not able to grant you the audience you desire. When circumstances permit, you shall be informed of it. Be

discreet.' These few words caused in the Cardinal a delirium of satisfaction which it would be difficult to describe. Madame de Lamotte from that moment was his tutelary angel, who smoothed for him the path to happiness, and from that period she might have obtained from him whatever she desired. Soon afterwards, encouraged by success, she fabricated a correspondence between the Queen and the Cardinal. The demands for money, which, under different pretexts, the Queen appeared to make on the Grand Almoner in these forged letters, produced Madame de Lamotte 120,000 livres; and yet nothing opened the eyes of this credulous and immoral man to the deceit practised on him. . . .

"Meanwhile some speedy cures, effected in cases pronounced incurable in Switzerland and Strasburg, spread the name of Cagliostro far and wide, and raised his renown to that of a miraculous physician. His attention to the poor, and his contempt for the rich, excited the greatest enthusiasm. Those whom he chose to honour with his familiarity left his society in ecstasies at his transcendent qualities. The Cardinal de Rohan was at his residence at Saverne when the Comte de Cagliostro astonished Strasburg and all Switzerland with his conduct, and the extraordinary cures he had performed. Curious to behold so remarkable a personage, the Cardinal went to Strasburg. It was found necessary to use interest to be admitted. 'If M. le Cardinal is sick,' said he, 'let him come to me and I will cure him; if he be well, he has no business with me, nor have I with him.' This reply, far from giving offence to the Cardinal, increased his desire to be acquainted with the Count. At length, having gained admission to the sanctuary of this new Æsculapius, he saw, as he has since declared, on the countenance of this uncommunicative man a dignity so imposing that he felt penetrated with religious awe. This interview, which was very short, excited more strongly than ever the wish for more intimate acquaintance. At length it was obtained, and the crafty empiric timed his advances so well that at

length, without seeming to desire it, he gained the entire confidence of the Cardinal, and the greatest ascendancy over him. 'Your soul,' said he one day to the Cardinal, 'is worthy of mine, and you deserve to be the confidant of all my secrets.' This declaration captivated the intellectual aspirations of a man who, at all times, had sought to discover the secrets of chemistry and botany.

"The Baron de Planta, whom the Cardinal had employed at the time of his embassy at Vienna, also became about this period his intimate confidant, and one of his most accredited agents with Cagliostro and Madame de Lamotte. I remember having heard that this Baron de Planta had frequent orgies at the palace of Strasburg, where it was said the tokay flowed in rivers, to render the repast agreeable to Cagliostro and his pretended wife. I thought it my duty to inform the Cardinal of the circumstance. His reply was, 'I know it; and I have even given him liberty to let it run to waste if he thinks proper.' . . .

"One of the Queen's jewellers had in his possession a most superb diamond necklace, worth eighteen hundred thousand livres. Madame de Lamotte knew that the Queen, who was much pleased with it, had not liked, under circumstances wherein the strictest economy became an indispensable duty, to propose to the King to buy it for her. Madame de Lamotte had had an opportunity of seeing this famous necklace, and Boëmer, the jeweller whose property it was, did not conceal from her that he found it quite an encumbrance, that he had hoped in purchasing it to prevail on the Queen to buy it, but that her Majesty had refused; he added that he would make a handsome present to any one who might procure him a purchaser for it.

"Madame de Lamotte had already made trial of the credulity of his Eminence. She flattered herself that by continuing to deceive him she might be able to appropriate both the necklace and the promised present. She intended to persuade the Cardinal that the Queen had a great desire for this necklace; that, wishing to buy it unknown

to the King, and to pay for it by instalments out of her savings, she proposed to give the Grand Almoner a particular proof of her goodwill by getting him to make the bargain in her name ; that for this purpose he would receive an order, written and signed by her hand, which he should not give up until the payments should be completed : that he would arrange with the jeweller to give him receipts for the amount from one quarter to another, beginning from the first payment, which could not be made until the 30th of July 1785 ; that it would be essential not to mention the Queen's name in that transaction, which was to be carried on entirely in the name of the Cardinal ; that the secret order, signed *Marie Antoinette de France*, would be quite authority enough ; and that in giving it the Queen bestowed a signal mark of her confidence in his Eminence.

“Such was the romance composed by this mischievous woman. She offered the cup of Circe to this too credulous Cardinal, and persuaded him to drink of it. Her deceptions being hitherto so successful as to secure her from even the slightest suspicion, she boldly launched into her perilous career. The Cardinal was in Alsace. Madame de Lamotte despatched a courier through Baron de Planta with a gilt-edged billet, in which the Queen was made to say : ‘The wished-for moment is not yet arrived, but I wish to hasten your return, on account of a secret negotiation which interests me personally, and which I am unwilling to confide to any one except yourself. The Comtesse de Lamotte will tell you from me the meaning of this enigma.’ After reading this letter the Cardinal longed for wings. He arrived most unexpectedly in a fine frost in January. His return appeared as extraordinary to us as his departure had been precipitate. The Cardinal had no sooner learned the pretended solution of the enigma, than, delighted with the commission with which his sovereign had been pleased to honour him, he eagerly asked for the necessary order, in order that the necklace might be procured with as little loss of time

as possible. The order was not long delayed ; it was dated from Trianon, and signed *Marie Antoinette de France*. If the thickest web of deception had not blinded the eyes of the Cardinal, this signature alone, so clumsily imitated, might have shown him the snare which awaited him. The Queen never signed herself anything but *Marie Antoinette* ; the words *de France* were added by the grossest ignorance. No remark, however, was made. Cagliostro, at that time recently arrived at Paris, was consulted. This Python mounted his tripod ; the Egyptian invocations were made at night, illuminated by an immense number of wax tapers, in the Cardinal's own saloon. The oracle, under the inspiration of its familiar demon, pronounced 'that the negotiation was worthy of the Prince, that it would be crowned with success, that it would raise the goodness of the Queen to its height, and bring to light that happy day which would unfold the rare talents of the Cardinal for the benefit of France and of the human race.' I am writing facts, though it may be imagined that I am only relating fictions. The advice of Cagliostro dissipated all the doubts which might have been inspired, and it was decided that the Cardinal should acquit himself as promptly as possible of a commission which was regarded as equally honourable and flattering.

"Everything being thus arranged, the Cardinal treated with Boehmer and Bassange for the necklace on the conditions proposed. He did not conceal from them that it was for the Queen, and he showed them the authority under which he acted, requiring it to be kept secret from all but the Queen. The jewellers must have believed all that the Grand Almoner told and showed them, as they accepted his note, and agreed on the 30th of January to deliver up the necklace to him on the 1st of February, being the Vigil of the Purification. The Countess had fixed on this day, when there was to be a grand *fête* at Versailles, as the epoch for which the Queen was anxious to have the superb ornament. The casket which contained this treasure was to be taken to Versailles that

day, and carried to the house of Madame de Lamotte, whence the Queen was to be supposed to send for it. The Cardinal, to whom the time had been specified, came at dusk to the house of Madame de Lamotte, followed by a *valet de chambre*, who carried the casket. He sent him away when he got to the door, and entered alone the place where he was to be sacrificed to his credulity. It was an alcoved apartment, with a closet in it which had a glass door. The skilful actress puts her spectator into this closet, the room is dimly lighted, a door opens, a voice exclaims, 'From the Queen.' Madame de Lamotte advances with an air of respect, takes the casket and places it in the hands of the pretended messenger; thus the transfer of the necklace is made. The Cardinal, a mute and hidden witness of the transaction, imagined that he recognised this envoy. Madame de Lamotte told him that it was the Queen's confidential *valet de chambre* at Trianon. He wore the same garb, and had much the same air. Among her different modes of deception, Madame de Lamotte had succeeded in making it appear that she had paid several visits at Trianon to the Queen, who had lavished upon her marks of the most intimate familiarity. She often mentioned to the Cardinal the day on which she was to go, and the hour at which she was to return. His Eminence often watched her setting out and coming back again. One night, when she knew that he was aware of the time for her return, she got the principal agent in her schemes to walk some way back with her, and afterwards to appear as if returning to Trianon. The Cardinal, who was in disguise, joined her according to custom, and inquired who this person might be. She told him that it was the Queen's confidential *valet de chambre* at Trianon. This pretended *valet de chambre* was a man named De Villette, of Bar-sur-Aube, the friend of Madame de Lamotte, and the comrade of her husband. This woman had initiated him into her iniquitous practices. He concurred in them, and expected to have a share in the profits that might result. He it

was who counterfeited the hand of the august Princess : the letters which Madame de Lamotte fabricated in the name of the Queen were written by him, as was also the order signed *Marie Antoinette de France* for the purchase of the necklace. The Cardinal having scrutinised the features of the man into whose hands the casket was delivered, and imagining that he recognised in them those of the pretended *valet de chambre* at Trianon who had accompanied Madame de Lamotte one evening on her way home, had no doubt of the necklace being safely conveyed to its place of destination.

“ Thus did this intriguing woman attain her ends ; and such ascendancy had she gained over the mind of the Cardinal that from the time of the necklace being given up, his Eminence incessantly pressed the jewellers to obtain an audience of the Queen, in order that they might make themselves easy respecting the purchase he had negotiated for her. This fact, the truth of which has been proved beyond the possibility of denial by the evidence of Bœhmer and Bassange in court, ought to remove every doubt as to the sincerity of the Cardinal, and his entire persuasion that he was only obeying the orders of the Queen. How shall I conceal in this place a fact which I would willingly omit, but which is too essentially connected with the consequences of this unfortunate affair to be passed over in silence. The jewellers, who had often access to the Queen on business, and were, moreover, pressed by the Cardinal to speak of it, took care not to leave her in ignorance of the negotiation and sale of the necklace. Notwithstanding the writing signed *Marie Antoinette de France* which had been shown to them ; notwithstanding the solvency of the Cardinal, who had given his note for it, it was important to their interest to assure themselves that this necklace was for her Majesty, and not to risk a thing of so much value on the least uncertainty. This fact is not admitted by Messieurs Bœhmer and Bassange in the *procès* ; but they secretly acknowledged it to one who revealed it to me, only on condition

that his name should in no way be compromised in the affair. The Cardinal in his defence appeared never to have had any doubt on the subject.¹ Bassange being at Bâle in 1797, and questioned by me on this matter, did not deny it, and formally confessed that his depositions, and those of his companion in this suit, had been regulated by the Baron de Breteuil; that they had not indeed indiscriminately followed everything that had been desired of them, but that they were obliged to be silent on what he was not willing that they should declare. After such an assurance, how can we attempt to justify the Queen from a connivance little honourable either to her principles or her rank?

“So shameless a manœuvre as that of Madame de Lamotte, in which the name of the Queen was introduced only to commit, with still more impunity and boldness, a fraud of such magnitude, ought to have shocked the delicacy and probity of this Princess. How was it that at this moment her indignation did not burst forth? If the Queen had only followed the first dictates of her wounded feelings she would surely have apprised the jewellers that they had been deceived, and that they must take their precautions accordingly. Even supposing that the Queen

¹ In the *Memoirs* of Madame Campan it is shown in how obscure, doubtful, and unintelligible a manner the jeweller Bœhmer explained himself the first time on the subject of the necklace, and what was the surprise, the indignation, and the wrath of the Queen when she was made to understand the odious nature of the intrigue in which her name was introduced. *The secret disclosure was made, it is said, to a person who only revealed it under the assurance that his name should be neither cited nor compromised in the affair*: this disclosure, received by an anonymous person, can scarcely be sufficient to overthrow the circumstantial details of Madame Campan. If the Queen only understands the former declarations of Bœhmer from a tardy and unexpected communication, if her resentment bursts out immediately on her acquaintance with it, what becomes of the supposition made by the Abbé Georgel, of a plan conducted with coolness and deliberation, and for a considerable period, to lead the Cardinal deeper and deeper into the snare, to surprise him and to destroy him?—*Note by the Editor.*

wished to be revenged on the Cardinal, and to ruin him, what had already passed, and what she had just heard, was more than sufficient to compel him to give up his place, to leave Court, and to retire to his diocese. The Queen would have done an act of justice, for which no one could have condemned her; the Grand Almoner would have been justly blamed for his credulity; the House of Rohan would have been grieved at his disgrace, but could not have opposed it; there would have been no shameful publicity, no criminal suit, no Bastille. Marie Antoinette, if left to her own inclinations, would surely have acted with this sincerity, but she suffered herself to be influenced by two men, who equally led her astray, though each from different motives."

The Abbé Georgel here flatters himself that he proves the Queen to have consulted the Abbé de Vermond, and the Baron de Breteuil (which is true), and that they suffered the Cardinal to fall more and more deeply into the snare, and continued him in his error to ruin him entirely, which is false, as is proved by the *Memoirs* of Madame Campan. She left Versailles on the 1st of August; on the 3d, Boëhmer went to see her at her country house. It was not until the 6th or 7th that the Queen was informed with certainty of the matter, and on the 15th the Cardinal was arrested. Are any of the perfidious delays imagined by the Abbé Georgel to be found in this rapid progress of things? The reproach of dissimulation, after all, does not attach to the Queen, as Georgel only accuses the Abbé de Vermond and the Baron de Breteuil of these preconcerted tardinesses.

"The day fixed upon for the first payment of a hundred thousand crowns being the 30th of July, the Cardinal, whose presence was necessary for the payment, was summoned in the course of the month of June. He came with the eagerness of a man who believes himself on the point of obtaining his wishes. He was assured in a little billet that everything was arranged for the accomplishment of his desire and the ful-

filment of the Queen's promises. It was adroitly added that measures were being taken for making up the first payment; that some unforeseen events had thrown obstacles in the way, but that it was hoped, nevertheless, that no delay would occur.

"The assemblies at Cagliostro's, in the meantime, were delightful: all was a joyful anticipation of the happy day when the Queen was to crown the good fortune of the Grand Almoner. Madame de Lamotte alone was in possession of a secret of a contrary nature. Sainte James, a proselyte of Cagliostro's, was admitted to those evening parties by the advice of this woman, for which she had her own reasons. She one day said to the Cardinal, 'I see the Queen is greatly perplexed about this hundred thousand crowns for the 30th of July. She does not write to you for fear of making you uneasy concerning it, but I have thought of a way for you to pay your court to her by setting her at ease.' Write to Sainte James; a hundred thousand crowns will appear nothing to him when he is given to understand that it is to render the Queen a service. Profit by the enthusiasm which the attentions you and the Comte de Cagliostro lavish upon him have inspired. The Queen will not discountenance it: speak in her name. The success of this new negotiation can only add to the interest she already takes in you.' The Cardinal thanked Madame de Lamotte for her good advice. He then thought to secure the goodwill of Sainte James by relating to him, with an air of confidence, all that had passed regarding the purchase of the necklace. He showed him the order signed *Marie Antoinette de France*; he likewise confided to him the Queen's embarrassment, and assured him that an infallible way to merit her protection would be to take upon himself the making the first payment to the jeweller. Sainte James, like all upstarts, was more anxious for consequence than for money; he had wished to obtain the *cordon rouge* by some place or office, but he had not been able to succeed. The Cardinal promised it to him in the name of the Queen as a recompense for the

service she asked of him. The financier replied that he looked upon himself as extremely fortunate to be able to give her Majesty proofs of his unbounded devotion ; and that as soon as he should be honoured with her orders, she might make herself perfectly easy with respect to the hundred thousand crowns for the first payment. The Grand Almoner informed Madame de Lamotte of the answer of Sainte James, and gave an account of it in the first letter which he sent the Queen through her hands. The forger who framed the answers was absent. M. de Lamotte had returned from London, and had sent for him to Bar-sur-Aube, where these skilful sharpers concerted together the precautions necessary in order to establish their fortunes out of the spoil of the necklace. The delay of the anxiously-expected answer from the Queen tormented the Cardinal. He communicated his uneasiness to Madame de Lamotte ; he could not conceive the motive for maintaining this silence as the time of payment approached. He was, moreover, afraid that Sainte James might suspect him of a design to impose upon him ; he added, with infinite chagrin, that what he still less comprehended was the unabated coldness of the Queen towards him outwardly, in spite of the warm and lively interest expressed in her letters. This last observation was a daily complaint with the Cardinal after his return from Alsace. Till then Madame de Lamotte had always been able to calm his anxiety by different stratagems. The diabolical genius of this woman, fruitful in expedients, suggested a method of abusing still further the Cardinal's credulity, by which she hoped to make him exert himself to the utmost to complete the first payment for the necklace, either by himself or through M. de Sainte James. Meanwhile the forger De Villette returned from Bar-sur-Aube, and the long-expected answer from Marie Antoinette was immediately put into the hands of the Cardinal. The Queen, it was said in the letter, would not so long have delayed her reply had she not hoped to be able to dispense with the good offices of M. de Sainte James ; that

she would accept them for the first payment only, and promised a speedy reimbursement to him, adding that she should wish M. de Sainte James to furnish her with an early opportunity of showing her sense of his services. Some days elapsed before the Cardinal could communicate this answer to Sainte James. In the interval Madame de Lamotte, in concert with her husband and De Villette, had arranged everything for the performance of a farce, the plan and execution of which betrayed the most diabolical invention. She undertook to make the Cardinal believe that the Queen, not being able to give him the public proofs of her esteem which she could wish, would grant him an interview in the groves of Versailles, between eleven and twelve o'clock, and that she would then assure him of that restoration to her favour which she was not at liberty to write. These happy tidings were conveyed in a little gilt-edged note ; it appointed the night and the hour for the meeting ; never was interview more eagerly anticipated.

"The Comtesse de Lamotte had remarked in the promenades of the Palais Royal at Paris a girl of a very fine figure, whose profile was extremely like the Queen's, and her she fixed on as principal actress in the grove. Her name was D'Oлива, and she had been made to believe that the part she undertook to perform was at the desire of the Queen, who had some plan of amusement in it.¹ The reward offered on this occasion was not refused by a creature who made a traffic of her charms. Mademoiselle d'Oлива accordingly proceeded to Versailles, conducted by M. de Lamotte in a hired carriage, the coachman belonging to which has been examined in evidence. She was led to inspect the scene of action to which she was to be secretly conveyed by M. de Lamotte ; there she was made to rehearse the part she was expected to perform. She was given to understand that she would

¹ Marie Nicole Leguay, called D'Oлива or Designy. See *Beugnot*, vol. i. p. 60, as to her resemblance to the Queen.

be accosted by a tall man in a blue riding-coat with a large hat turned down, who would approach and kiss her hand with the utmost respect ; and that she was to say to him in a low tone of voice, 'I have but a moment to spare ; I am satisfied with your conduct, and I shall speedily raise you to the pinnacle of favour ;' that she was then to present him with a small box and a rose, and immediately afterwards, at the noise of persons who should approach, to observe, still in a low voice, 'Madame and Madame d'Artois are coming ; we must separate.' The grove and the place of entrance agreed on had been also pointed out to the Cardinal, with the assurance that he might in that place pour out without constraint his sentiments of loyal devotion and explain his feelings in what most concerned his interests ; and that, as a pledge of her good intentions towards him, the Queen would present him with a case containing her portrait and a rose. It was well known at Versailles that the Queen was in the habit of walking in the evening with Madame and the Comtesse d'Artois in the grove. The appointed night arrived ; the Cardinal, dressed as agreed on, repaired to the terrace of the Château with the Baron de Planta ; the Comtesse de Lamotte in a black domino was to come and let him know the precise time when the Queen was to enter the grove. The evening was sufficiently dark ; the appointed hour glided away ; Madame de Lamotte did not appear ; the Cardinal became anxious ; when the lady in the black domino came to meet him saying, 'I have just left the Queen—everything is unfavourable—she will not be able to give you so long an interview as she desired. Madame and the Comtesse d'Artois have proposed to walk with her. Hasten to the grove ; she will leave her party, and, in spite of the short interval she may obtain, will give you unequivocal proofs of her protection and goodwill.' The Cardinal hastened to the appointed scene and Madame de Lamotte and the Baron de Planta retired to await his return. The scene was played as it had been arranged by Madame de Lamotte ; the pre-

tended Queen, in an evening dishabille, bore a striking resemblance in figure and dress to the personage she was to represent. The Cardinal in approaching her testified emotion and respect ; the pretended Queen in a low voice pronounced the words that had been dictated to her, and presented the box. Meantime, as had been agreed, a noise as of persons approaching was made, and it was necessary to part somewhat abruptly. The Cardinal went to rejoin Madame de Lamotte and the Baron de Planta : he complained bitterly of the vexatious interruption which had shortened an interview so interesting and delightful for him. They then separated. The Cardinal appeared fully persuaded that he had spoken with the Queen, and had received the box from her hands. Madame de Lamotte congratulated herself on the success of her scheme. Mademoiselle d'Oliva, interested in keeping the part she had played secret, was conveyed back to Paris and well rewarded. M. de Lamotte and M. de Villette, who had counterfeited the voices and the approaching footsteps agreed on to abridge the interview, joined Madame de Lamotte, and every one rejoiced at the successful issue. The next day a little billet brought by the ordinary messenger expressed great regret at the obstacles which had prevented a longer conversation.

"Whatever the illusion might be that had so blinded the Cardinal, the unimpassioned reader will scarcely believe that a Prince endowed with so much intelligence and good sense could have entertained for more than a year not the slightest suspicion of the snare that was laid for him : and if it did enter his mind, why did he not put every method in force to throw a light on the behaviour of his conductress ? The Queen still evincing complete estrangement towards the Cardinal, how could he possibly reconcile this mode of treatment with the sentiments contained in the little billets he received, wherein the greatest interest and kindness were expressed ?

"The Cardinal acknowledges that, impelled by a boundless desire to be restored to the favour of the Queen, he

rushed with impetuosity towards the object that promised to effect his purpose, without considering the nature of the path he was made to tread. However that might be, the adventure of the grove and the little billet next morning had given new energy to the zeal which entirely engrossed him for the interests and tranquillity of the Queen, whom he believed to be embarrassed respecting the first payment for the necklace. The return of the financier Sainte James hastened the *dénouement* of the intrigue, which was about to involve him in endless disgrace and vexation. The Cardinal having met with this financier at Cagliostro's, communicated to him the new orders which he imagined he had received."

It is needless to prolong this extract. The latter scenes and the catastrophe of this plot are well known. We ought, nevertheless, to mention the individual to whom the Cardinal at length owed the discovery of the means which had been put in practice to deceive him.

"A certain Abbé de Juncker, a sensible and well-informed man, came," says the Abbé Georgel, "to offer his services. I felt confidence in him because he seemed anxious for the honour and interest of the Cardinal. He it was who gave me the first clue by which the diabolical intrigue of Madame de Lamotte came to be unmasked. A friar of the order of Minims,¹ called Father Loth, had come to inform him that, urged by his conscience, and by gratitude to the Grand Almoner for services he had rendered him, he was anxious to make the most important disclosures; that, having lived on intimate terms with Madame de Lamotte, he could not longer be silent. This monk was *procureur* to the Minims of *La Place Royale*, which the house of Madame de Lamotte adjoined. This

¹ Minims, or *Fratres Minimi*, an order of religion instituted about the year 1440 (then called the Hermits of St. Francis) by St. Francis de Paulo. They were confirmed in 1473 by Sixtus IV., and by Julius II. in 1507. The name Minims or Minimi ("the least or the smallest") was assumed as expressing the humility of the founder and his followers. They were called also "*Bons-hommes*," it is said originally by Louis XI.

woman had found means to inspire him with pity in her moments of want and distress. He often relieved her, and his kindness at length induced her to communicate to him the particulars of her good fortune, which she attributed to the Queen and to the Cardinal. Being soon on terms of great intimacy, Father Loth saw at the house of Madame de Lamotte many things that excited his suspicions. A few words which her vanity and indiscretion let fall; the boast of a considerable present from the Court jewellers, on account of her expecting to procure them a purchaser for their valuable necklace; the display of some superb diamonds which she pretended to have had from Marie Antoinette; the communication of billets which she declared to be from the Queen to the Cardinal, and from the Cardinal to the Queen; the comparison which Father Loth had taken the trouble to make between the writing of these billets and other writings of M. de Villette, the friend of Madame de Lamotte, who was often shut up writing with her and her husband; the compliments which he had heard Madame de Lamotte pay a tall beautiful woman, named D'Oliva, respecting the success of some part she had played in the garden of Versailles; the perplexities which had spread confusion and alarm throughout the house of this intriguing woman in the early part of August; the declaration made in his presence that Boëhmer and Bassange would be the ruin of the Cardinal; the precipitate flight of De Villette, and of M. and Madame de Lamotte at that period—such were the details which Father Loth came to confide to me one evening between eleven and twelve, after disguising himself at the house of the Abbé Juncker, in order that he might not be suspected, should his judicial deposition be found necessary. The friar, wishing to have the title of preacher to the King in his Order, had requested to preach the sermon at Pentecost before his Majesty. The Grand Almoner had desired me to examine his discourse and his delivery. I was not satisfied with it, and gave it as my opinion that he should not preach; but I was not aware

that Madame de Lamotte, who protected him, was desirous that this favour should be granted him, and that the Cardinal, yielding to the entreaties of this patroness, had procured Father Loth a well-written sermon, which he delivered with tolerable propriety.

"Amongst the particulars which I have just related, Father Loth, during the three hours' conversation I had with him, gave much important information respecting M. de Villette and some fragments of his writing, which he assured me greatly resembled that of the pretended billets from the Queen. He told me also that he had surprised Madame de Lamotte the evening before her departure burning those notes that she had told him were from the Queen. The friar, in speaking to me of Mademoiselle d'Oliva, recollected the time when she was taken by M. de Lamotte to Versailles in a hired carriage; at last he added, in such a manner as led me to suspect that he did not tell me all he knew, that he had strong reasons for believing that the Comtesse de Lamotte had imposed on the credulity of the Cardinal to obtain very considerable sums from him, and even to appropriate the necklace to herself. This important communication did not amount to certainty; but it was like the first blush of morn, which, dissipating the thick clouds of night, announces a fine day."—*Memoirs of the Abbé Georgel*, vol. ii.

We shall now add from another work details relative to the trial.

"The Cardinal was closely guarded in his apartments at Versailles. He was brought to his hôtel in Paris in the afternoon, and remained there until the next day. The carriage was escorted by Body Guards, and M. d'Agoult, aide-major-general, had orders not to lose sight of the prisoner. In the evening the Marquis de Launay, Governor of the Bastille, came to lodge his Eminence in that same prison. The Cardinal wished to go thither on foot, under cover of the night; the favour was readily granted. On the following day, 17th August, he was sent in a carriage to his palace, to be present at the

breaking of the seals, at which all the ministers assisted, except Maréchal de Ségur. M. de Rohan, looking on M. de Breteuil as his personal enemy, had required this formality ; and the Baron de Breteuil had complied the more willingly as he had declared that his own sense of delicacy would not permit him to acquit himself of his ministerial duty in any other manner than publicly, and in the presence of respectable witnesses. Doubtless, no proof appeared of the secret crimes ascribed to the Cardinal, since no trace of it is to be found in the proceedings. The Cardinal had permission to see his friends in the hall of the Bastille. He was allowed to retain out of all his numerous retinue two *valets de chambre* and a secretary ; this last favour showed him that he was to have the privilege of writing, at least for the purposes of his defence. He was treated in every other respect with much consideration, and his situation rendered as tolerable as it could be in such a fortress. The Abbé Georgel, Grand Vicar to the Grand Almoner, on whose papers seals were likewise put, testified as little uneasiness as the Cardinal. ‘Authority must be respected,’ said he, ‘but we must nevertheless enlighten it.’¹

“Madame de Lamotte, wishing to gratify at once her hatred and revenge, declared on her first examination that Comte de Cagliostro was the contriver of the fraud of the necklace ; that he had persuaded the Cardinal to purchase it. She insinuated that it was taken to pieces by him and his wife, and that they alone reaped the profit of it. This declaration, supported by a thousand other falsehoods, which unfortunately, however absurd, wore an appearance of probability, caused the singular personage implicated

¹ To show the spirit evinced by the clergy during the imprisonment of the Cardinal, we quote a passage from Jarvis’ *Gallican Church*, vol. ii. p. 379 :—“The Abbé Georgel, Vicar-General to the Cardinal, in his quality of Grand Almoner, had occasion to publish a Lenten *mandement*. He began by comparing himself to Timothy, whom St. Paul commissioned to supply his place in preaching the word of life to the disciples while the Apostle was detained in bonds at Rome for his faithfulness to the Christian cause.”

to be sent to the Bastille, with the woman who resided with him. The latter remained there nearly eight months, and the pretended count did not come out until after the suit was decided. It is certain that Cardinal de Rohan was credulous enough to place the greatest confidence in this charlatan, who had assured him that it was possible to make gold, and to transmute small diamonds into large precious stones ; but he only cheated the Cardinal out of large sums, under pretence of revealing to him the secrets of the Rosicrucians and other madmen who have believed, or pretended to believe, the absurd fables of the philosopher's stone, the elixir of life, etc. Thus the Cardinal saw part of his money evaporate in the smoke of crucibles, and part find its way into the pockets of the sharper who passed himself off as a great alchemist. When this person was examined by the court touching the affair of the necklace, he made his appearance dressed in green embroidered with gold, and his locks, curled from the top of his head, fell in little tails down his shoulders, which completed his resemblance to a mountebank. 'Who are you? Whence came you?' he was asked. 'I am a noble traveller,' was his reply. At these words every countenance relaxed, and seeing this appearance of good humour, the accused entered boldly on his defence. He interlarded his jargon with Greek, Arabic, Latin, and Italian ; his looks, his gestures, his vivacity, were as amusing as his speech. He withdrew very well pleased with having made his judges laugh.

"The Cardinal had sometimes permission to walk after dinner upon the platform of the towers of the Bastille, accompanied by an officer. He wore a brown greatcoat, with a round hat. The *parlement* issued a decree to arrest the Cardinal and the other parties. The fraud of the necklace was not the motive which determined this decree against the Cardinal de Rohan, but the forgery of the Queen's signature. It was concluded that, as soon as the true author of the forgery was discovered, all the rigour of the sentence would fall on him. On the 21st December this decree, more frightful to him in imagination than in

reality, was made known to the Cardinal. The examinations were vigorously pursued. The commissioner, M. Dupuis de Marcé, a counsellor of Parliament, repaired for this purpose to the fortress of the Bastille. On one occasion he detained the Cardinal from nine in the morning until one o'clock, and then from four till midnight. On the appointed day Prince Louis de Rohan put on his State dress, his red calotte, red stockings, and all the insignia of his rank. The Governor of the Bastille came to lead him from his apartment, conducted him to the door of the council chamber, left him with the magistrate and other official persons, and remained in attendance in the antechamber. When the judge wanted anything, he rang ; the Marquis de Launay immediately presented himself, and if a glass of water was asked for, he carried it himself to the door, where the magistrate came to meet him. After the sitting the Governor took charge of his prisoner at the door of the council chamber, and conducted him back to his apartment.

"It has been pretended that the all-powerful family of the Cardinal had so suborned the commissioner and the *greffier* that they altered the sense of the depositions and examinations, and when they were fearful of the Cardinal's involving himself in his replies, and saying something that would make against his cause, they suddenly broke up the sitting without even waiting for the conclusion of a sentence already begun. The following extract from the voluminous *Memoirs* of Madame de Lamotte supports this assertion :—'One day the Cardinal and I being confronted upon a delicate point, which neither of us had any intention to throw light upon, I said something not conformable to truth. "Ah, madame," cried the Cardinal, "how can you advance what you know to be false?" "As every one else does, sir ; you know very well that neither you nor I have said a single word of truth to these gentlemen since they have begun to interrogate us." It was not in fact possible,' says this woman, whose testimony ought to be estimated at its proper value ; 'our answers were prepared for us, as well as our questions, and we were obliged to

say or reply this or that, or expect to be murdered in the Bastille.'

"The deposition of the Comtesse du Barry forms an interesting episode in this curious affair. She came into court on the evening of the 7th December, where she was received with all the honours due to persons of the first rank. The *greffier* went to hand her in, and one of the ushers carried the torch. Her deposition turned on the following circumstance. Madame de Lamotte called on her one day, after the death of Louis XV., to offer her services as a companion. When she declared her name and birth Madame du Barry regarded her as unfit for the situation; and, thanking her, assured her that she did not wish for society, and that, moreover, she was not such a great lady herself as to take one of Madame de Valois's elevated rank for her companion. The latter went again some days after, begging that Madame du Barry would recommend her to some persons who might lay one of her petitions before the King. In this petition she entreated an increase of her pension. She had signed the words *de France* after her name. The Comtesse du Barry could not help showing her surprise at the sight of the signature. Madame de Lamotte replied that as she was known to belong to the House of Valois she always signed herself *de France*. Madame du Barry smiled at her pretensions, and promised to get the petition recommended. So long as the Comtesse de Lamotte saw none of her accomplices arrested, she flattered herself that the Cardinal and Cagliostro would be the victims of her fraud; but Made-moiselle d'Oliva, the principal actress in the park scene, being taken at Brussels, where she had sought refuge, began to draw aside the veil with which the Countess had hitherto covered her intrigues.

"To crown her misfortunes, and ensure her the punishment she deserved, Rétaux de Villette suffered himself to be taken at Geneva. He was taken to the Bastille and confronted with the perfidious Lamotte, who was struck as by a thunderbolt at the unexpected sight. She was

now convinced that she was lost, notwithstanding her natural effrontery. The prisoners who were detained in the Bastille on account of the necklace were transferred to the Conciergerie on the nights of the 29th and 30th of August 1786, by an officer of the court. The Cardinal was confined under the guard of the King's lieutenant of the Bastille, in the cabinet of the chief *greffier*. The justice of that day had the most profound respect for birth and titles.

"The examinations lasted from six in the morning until half-past four in the afternoon. When Madame de Lamotte appeared before the Grand Council assembled she was elegantly dressed, as she had been all the time she was in prison. This audacious woman, being sent for by the judges, often repeated *that she was going to confound a great rogue*. At the sight of the august assembly her confidence somewhat abandoned her; above all, when the usher said to her in a severe tone, pointing out the stool for the accused, '*Madame, seat yourself there*,' she started back in affright, but on the order being given a second time, she took the ill-omened seat, and in less than two minutes she recovered herself, and her countenance was so composed that she appeared as if reclining in her own room upon the most elegant sofa. She replied with firmness to all the questions of the First President. Being interrogated afterwards by the Abbé Sabathier, one of the ecclesiastical counsellors, whom she knew to be unfavourable to her, 'That is a very insidious question,' said she; 'I expected you would put it to me, and I shall now reply to it.' After extricating herself with sufficient address from many other questions, she made a long speech, with so much presence of mind and energy that she at least astonished her judges, if she could not succeed in convincing them. As soon as she had retired the First President ordered the stool to be removed, and sent to inform the Cardinal *that the stool having been taken out of the chamber, he might present himself before the court*. The Cardinal was habited in a long violet-coloured robe (which colour is mourning for cardinals);

he wore his red *calotte* and stockings, and was decorated with his orders. His emotion was evident; he was extremely pale, and his knees bent under him; five or six voices, probably proceeding from members gained over to his side, observed that the Cardinal appeared to be ill, and that he ought to be allowed to sit, to which D'Aligre, the First President, replied, 'Monsieur le Cardinal can sit if he wish.' The illustrious accused profited by this permission, and seated himself at the end of the bench where the examiners sit when they attend the grand chamber. Having soon recovered himself, he replied extremely well to the questions of the First President; he afterwards, still remaining seated, spoke for about half an hour with emphasis and dignity, and repeated his protestations respecting the whole proceedings against him. His speech being finished, he bowed to the bench and the other magistrates. Every one returned his salute, and those on the bench even got up, which was a peculiar mark of distinction. Only the Cardinal and Cagliostro returned to the Bastille. M. de Rohan had in his coach the Governor and an officer of the ministerial prison. The Marquis de Launay gave the order to set off, and said "*à l'hôtel*" instead of using the word *Bastille*. On the 31st, the day fixed for the final decision of this singular and famous trial—after more than a year of proceedings and delays—the judges met at a quarter before six in the morning. They were sixty-two in number, but were reduced to forty-nine by the retiring of the ecclesiastical counsellors, on account of its being a question which involved corporal punishment. Some time past nine in the evening the decision of the *parlement* was made known, as follows:—

"1st. The instrument which is the foundation of the suit, with the approvals and annexed signatures, are declared forgeries, and falsely attributed to the Queen.

"2d. Lamotte, being in contumacy, is condemned to the galleys for life.¹

¹ He had escaped to England.

"3d. Madame de Lamotte to be whipped, branded on the two shoulders with the letter V, and shut up in the Hospital for life.

"4th. Rétaux de Villette banished the kingdom for life.

"5th. Mademoiselle d'Oliva discharged.

"6th. Cagliostro acquitted.

"7th. The Cardinal acquitted of all suspicion. The injurious accusations against him, contained in the memorial of Madame de Lamotte, suppressed.

"8th. The Cardinal is allowed to cause the judgment of the court to be printed.

"The next day the court received an order for delay of execution. The Court of Versailles was much displeased with the sentence ; it had hoped that the Cardinal would have been declared guilty, and the degrading sentence passed on the Comtesse de Lamotte appeared too severe ; a writer has permitted himself to observe that the court had proceeded with so much severity against this female, a descendant from the House of Valois, in order to mortify to the utmost of their power the reigning branch of the Bourbons. The King was desirous to inspect all the writings belonging to the suit, but they only sent him copies of them.

"The *parlement*, after a few days' delay, was allowed to execute its sentence with respect to the Comtesse de Lamotte, who had remained at the Conciergerie. She was informed one morning that her presence was required at the palace. Surprised at this intelligence (for she had for some time been refused permission to speak to any one), she replied that she had passed a restless night, and desired to be left quiet. The gaoler said her counsel was waiting. 'I can see him, then, to-day?' she asked, and immediately rose, slipped on a loose robe, and followed. Being brought before her judges, the *greffier* pronounced her sentence ; immediately astonishment, fear, rage, and despair pervaded her soul, and threw her into agitation difficult to describe. She had not strength to hear the

whole of the matter read to her ; she threw herself on the ground and uttered the most violent shrieks. It was with the greatest difficulty that she could be removed into the palace yard to undergo her sentence. It was scarcely six in the morning, and but few persons were present to witness its execution. No, sooner did the Countess perceive the instruments of her punishment than she seized one of the executioners by the collar, bit his hands in such a manner as to take a piece out, and fell upon the ground in more violent convulsions than ever. It was necessary to tear off her clothes to imprint the hot iron upon her shoulders. Her cries and imprecations redoubled ; at length they took her into a coach and conveyed her to l'Hôpital. After ten months' confinement¹ Madame de Lamotte found means to escape from l'Hôpital, either by having gained over some sister of the house, or through the connivance of the Government. This last opinion may be correct, if it be true that her flight was permitted on condition that M. de Lamotte should not publish in London his account of the trial, which it is said he threatened to do unless his wife should be restored to him."—*Anecdotes of the Reign of Louis XVI.*, vol. i.

[In the third series of *Notes and Queries*, vols. vii., viii., and ix., will be found some remarks concerning the authenticity of the letters of Marie Antoinette, published after her death in the time of the Second Empire, which it may be useful to note here.]

¹ Madame Campan says "a few days," see vol. ii. p. 29.

POSTSCRIPT.

As Madame Campan has several times stated in the foregoing pages that the money to foment sedition was furnished from English sources, the decree of the Convention of August 1793 may be quoted as illustrative of the *entente cordiale* alleged to exist between the insurrectionary Government and its friends across the Channel! The endeavours made by the English Government to save the unfortunate King are well known.

Art. i. The National Convention denounces the British Government to Europe and the English nation.

Art. ii. Every Frenchman that shall place his money in the English funds shall be declared a traitor to his country.

Art. iii. Every Frenchman who has money in the English funds or those of any other Power with whom France is at war shall be obliged to declare the same.

Art. iv. All foreigners, subjects of the Powers now at war with France, particularly the English, shall be arrested, and seals put upon their papers.

Art. v. The barriers of Paris shall be instantly shut.

Art. vi. All good citizens shall be required in the name of the country to search for the foreigners concerned in any plot denounced.

Art. vii. Three millions shall be at the disposal of the
VOL. II.

- Minister at War to facilitate the march of the garrison of Mentz to La Vendée.

Art. viii. The Minister at War shall send to the army on the coast of Rochelle all the combustible materials necessary to set fire to the forests and underwood of La Vendée.

Art. ix. The women, the children, and old men shall be conducted to the interior parts of the country.

Art. x. The property of the rebels shall be confiscated for the benefit of the Republic.

Art. xi. A camp shall be formed without delay between Paris and the Northern army.

Art. xii. All the family of the Capets shall be banished from the French territory, those excepted who are under the sword of the law, and the offspring of Louis Capet, who shall both remain in the Temple.

Art. xiii. Marie Antoinette shall be delivered over to the Revolutionary Tribunal, and shall be immediately conducted to the prison of the Conciergerie. Louise Elizabeth shall remain in the Temple till after the judgment of Marie Antoinette.

Art. xiv. All the tombs of the Kings which are at Saint Denis and in the departments shall be destroyed on August the 10th.

Art. xv. The present decree shall be despatched by extraordinary couriers to all the departments.

(22) 2
THE END.

